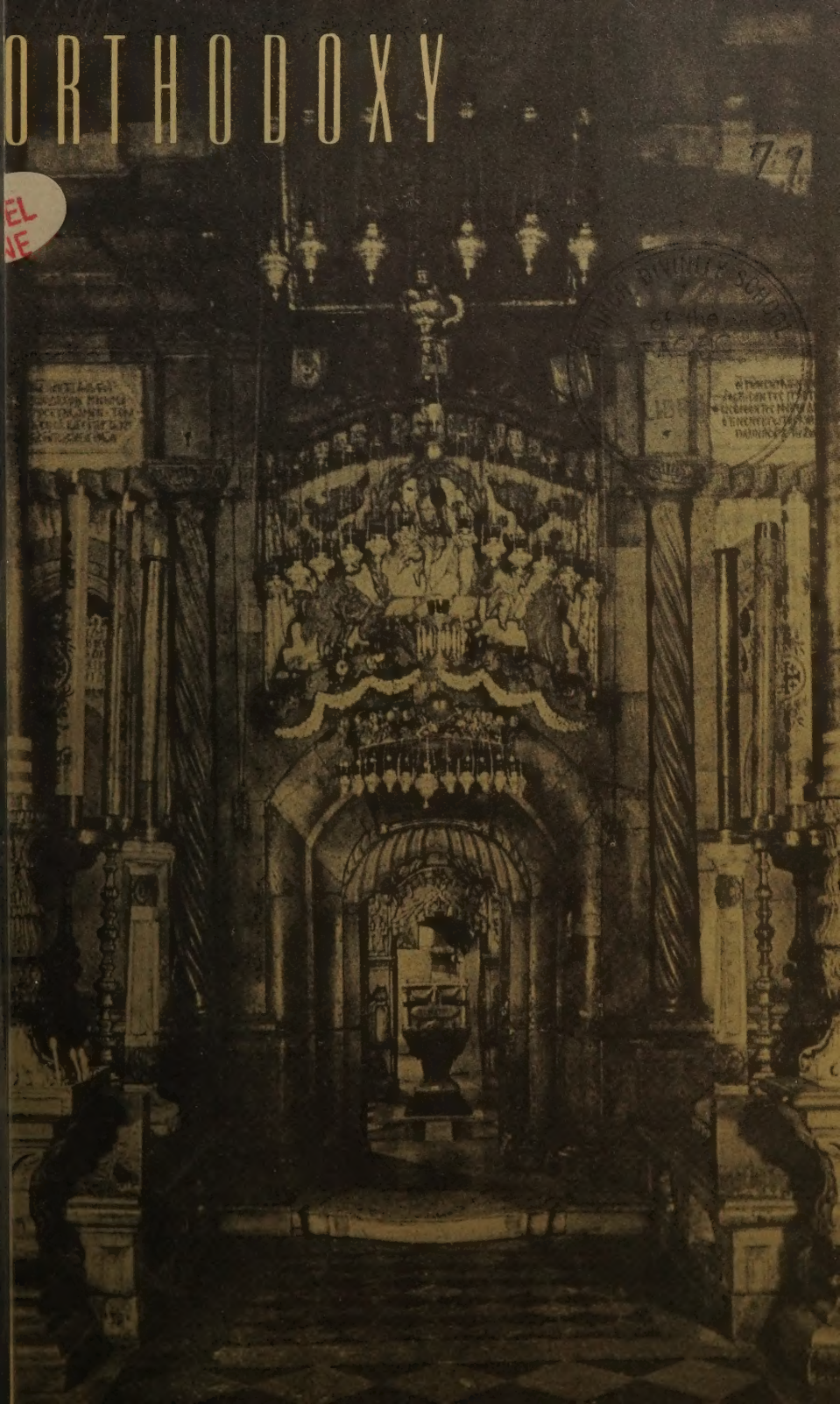
ORTHODOXY



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COMMENT

Our older readers will recognize in the current chapter of *Introduction to Orthodoxy* much of what appeared in *A Memo to Roman Catholics, Orthodoxy* VI:2. Its republication seems justified by the continuing demand for the earlier feature, now out of print, as well as by its place as part of the present series.

The subject is a touchy one which should only be approached with clean hands and a pure heart. Unfortunately the prevailing attitude has been one of hostility rather than love, accusation rather than understanding. Real Christians do not crow over their neighbor's mistakes, or burn heretics at the stake. The grandiose blunder of the modern papal position is no reason for us to rejoice, and if the error of that position must be understood by Orthodox, their attitude toward those who have made it should be appropriate to a mother who grieves for a prodigal. The statesmanlike appeal of His Grace Bishop Athenagoras is a good example to us all, and makes valuable reading.*

While we clarify our own thinking on this very real problem of the final and great heresy by which Rome separated herself from the Church, we should also lovingly recall the enormous debt which we owe to Rome as the school-master of western Europe, the matrix of its arts, literature and music. It was Roman Christianity through which western Christians learned to sing, to pray, to speak and to think. If Rome has ventured afield in critical matters, with grave consequences, she has also preserved a loyalty to other landmarks of the faith which is a standing reproach to the laxity of many Orthodox. The east has produced more grave heresies than the west. We should educate our young as thoroughly as Roman Catholics are educated.

We had better stop beating our brothers over the head and begin to beat our own breasts. Let's face the facts. We have given western Christians grounds for little but disdain by talking charity while breathing suspicion, proclaiming the unity of the Spirit while quarreling over politics and other non-essentials, maintaining our priority but adopting amateurish novelties and criticizing our Christian brothers while leaving our own children improperly trained and susceptible to heterodox infection.

Today the Roman Church is the unchallenged leader in the arts of the church. While an Orthodox bishop rebukes a priest for having the greatest creative architect in the world design a church for him and insists upon an imitation Byzantine building, Roman Catholic churches of fresh esthetic vitality are going up in increasing numbers. The Roman Mass has lost none of its persuasive appeal for modern composers. More religious literature

Contemporary Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Communications, Bp Athenagoras Kokkinakis and J Francis Cardinal McIntyre, San Francisco: 1957.

emanates from it than from any other church – and of a higher average standard than any other except possibly that of the Anglican Communion. Its religious orders and institutions, its schools and colleges are great in number and glorious in achievement.

Let us Orthodox thank God for the achievements of the Roman Catholic Church and for the constructive example which it presents to us. If we are tempted to scold our Roman brothers for their waywardness, we might also ponder our own status according to the parable of the talents. Yes, there are reasons. The Church has existed in slavery for centuries, and slavery induces torpor. But the very vividness of the Church's spiritual life leaves us very little excuse indeed Let's be up and doing, for the night is far spent and the day is at hand. And above all things, let us not be blinded by Roman heresy to the many common interests we have, the basic values which a vast wave of barbarism would now engulf. Before the peril we both face, our common interests may be more important than our differences.

As is pointed out in the article, the catastrophe of western Protestantism should warn us of the dangers which beset disillusioned Roman Catholics. The patient is ill: speak softly and make no unnecessary noise!

II Timothy 3:1-5 '...In the last days there will come times of stress. For men will be lovers of money, proud, arrogant, abusive, disobedient to their parents, ungrateful, unholy, inhuman, implacable slanderers, profligates, fierce, haters of good, treacherous, reckless, swollen with conceit... holding the form of religion but denying the power of it.'

Though many past generations have taken a dim view of the way things were going, evil becomes no better because others have recognized it for what it is. That St Paul's dire words have a special relevance today – even if they may have seemed appropriate in the past too – is becoming frighteningly evident.

What makes our own times singular is not that we are susceptible – as men have been ever since our first parents. It is that we are losing or deliberately stifling the sense of right and wrong which distinguishes man from animal.

The belief is now given academic dignity, that what we call right and wrong do not exist, but only social expediency which must be implemented by social pressures. Society must protect itself, not from wrong, but from harm. Beyond that is the tacit premise that I must protect myself, and ultimately that moral partnerships of society, of the community, of the state, are expedients made necessary only for private, personal protection.

Even our virtues, if they can be called that, bear witness to the moral collapse of modern man. For the pinnacle of religious attainment would seem to be a sentimental obliteration of duty, of guilt, and a sympathy for the wrong-doer from which reason and moral principle are excluded. The criminal is not a criminal because he breaks the law, but because someone has passed a law which he should not be expected to keep, or because he is not old

nough to be eligible, or because is crime is sanctioned by a slogan. aving one's fist in another's face r using abusive language is dig- ified by the epithet 'peaceful icketing'. The worker is 'entitled' o pay for days when he does not ork, vacations which render no enefit to those who bear their ost. Those who refuse to work are locked out' if the employer is un- eady to take them back on their lemand. Has anyone ever before sug- gested that the man who pays the ill must be told what he would get nd that he had no right to say what ie would spend his money for? Can ve seriously imagine ourselves buy- ng from a man who used extortion o prevent our dealing with better suppliers, or to force a price we vere unwilling to pay? Yet that as become the unchallenged order f labor relations, a field in which ne party is stigmatized and the ther exonerated arbitrarily with o reference to the principles of ree transaction – principles which re essential to a free society.

Beyond the philosophy that laws were ot intended for me but for the ther fellow, there seems to be a common agreement that when enough eople transgress, the matter is to e settled by repealing the law, for ts effect otherwise would be to make veryone a criminal! Thus it is not conduct which makes criminals, but he law. If enough motorists are sufficiently irresponsible and im- eril enough victims we must relax ha laws rather than 'make criminals' f the offenders.

Thus the psychology of crime has een generally accepted and its rocedures legalized, e g, the rights of labor' – to prevent the mployment of more responsible and nterprising workers than members f the union. And a telling sign f the American social collapse is hat every advance of crime is met with committees, discussion, and even condolances for the criminal, while the obvious preventive measures are suspended, annulled, mollified, evaded. New York's treatment of its juvenille crime problem is a case in point. School officials prefer a reign of terror to police in the schools and propose to meet the situation by spending more money to build schools for the offenders.

There are several points worth notice here: first, that it would damage someone's pride to have police around, and better to allow murder, rape and violence to continue unrestrained until another solution can be found; second, that we can buy our way out of trouble, hence, that our problems are economic since they would not exist if enough money were spent on them (Marxism); third, that special accommodations are fittingly devoted to the anti-social. Here we have, not only a disinclination to meet crime in the indicated manner, but an active hostility against doing so, a willingness to imperil honorable students and teachers rather than do so, and a willingness to penalize the citizen with further tax burdens when the root of the problem is the anti-social child who needs to feel the rod. Here again – subtly perhaps, but none-the-less truly – we see the crimeward direction of public thought. The master of this situation is the criminal, not the deserving student. The objective of the program is accommodation and isolation, expenditures, special treatment which eases the burden of guilt which the offender should be unable to escape. And, of course, the social pressure thus removed from the offender's back is transferred to the honest citizen who must bear it in the form of risk to person and to property, and in taxation. To such lengths will we go to spare the rod and spoil the child!

We place guns in the hands of children so they will not become frustrated, and are then surprised that they grow up with tendencies to violence. Yet evidence on every hand, continuously repeated, shows the direct line which leads from indulgence to disorderly conduct, to delinquency, to crime. The undisciplined child has been given his first lesson in delinquency.

Must the law be punitive? Our penal system does not work because of the disproportion of consequence to misdeed. As a simple business proposition many a citizen is willing to take the statutory sentence for the proceeds of his crime. This is a purely business question to more people than one might like to believe, and one can hear it discussed as such almost any day in a public place in New York. 'How long do you get?' And, 'is it worth it?' Those are the questions. A penal system which provides comfortable jails, indulgent supervision for a price, and privileges for the moneyed criminal, hardly teaches that crime does not pay. The penal system does not work precisely because it permits crime to pay and does not insure that crime costs dearly – which is the underlying purpose of a penal system.

Those who think that penalty is incompatible with charity might consider that chopping a man's leg off may be rough, but if it is the only way to save his life, it is merciful. The idealist of today seems more anxious to save the leg than he is to save the man! Even charity must be administered with wisdom.

Nature manages the problem with unsentimental efficiency by making misbehaviour painful and conformity rewarding. The offender learns that transgression is to his own disadvantage. Probably alone in all history, modern man has evolved a philosophy which is contrary to all the signposts. For never before has anyone thought that undesirable impulses can be cured by indulgence – as one might expect gluttony to abate by stuffing oneself! Gluttony is the result of an inordinate appetite. Appetite is sated by food. If we eat enough we will lose our appetite and the gluttony will be cured. A thief wants possessions. The cause of his crime is his desire (or, according to other advanced minds, the very fact that others *have*, and he *has not!*) Satisfy the desire, and he will cease to be a criminal!

But it doesn't work that way, as Jews and Christians have known for some 4000 years. A rising crime rate has proceeded in step with a rising standard of living on a spiral of more possessions, more conveniences, more opportunities, more leisure, more idleness, more restlessness, more violence, more crime.

The beginning is gratification without effort, which violates the natural principle that man is a creative organism which only operates properly when his output balances his intake – when exertion is proportionate to need. This natural law is ubiquitous and is most simply illustrated by rope passing over a pulley. Action and reaction must be balanced, or something has to give.

Man's destiny is not to become a mere walking gland. He is intended – on the basis of the physical and mental evidence alone, without resort to metaphysics – man is intended *on the evidence* to be a creative being whose essential nature is not satisfied by biological titillation but by creative achievement within the context of a fixed system of physical, social and spiritual forces.

If anyone can doubt the extent to which the popular mind is crime-oriented he need only glance at the day's headlines, for the press is a dependable reflection of public attitudes. Among the gems which appear as this is written are the following:

100 MPH Girl Lives in Tears
All Britain Rallies to Sarah
Wins Scofflaw Title on 131 Tix
Free Dope for Addicts?
Judge Spares Felon

The first refers to a juvenille who stole a car, then killed an innocent motorist while trying to evade the police, leaving his wife a widow and his children fatherless. But the sympathies of the story, it is plain to see, are not with the bereaved, but with the criminal. The second refers to a drunk and abusive actress whose disorderly conduct seems to have enlisted public acclaim. The third tells the story of a man with over 100 traffic offences in these terms: 'Judge X allowed exactly one week to raise the scratch (fine) and that was when the defendant...showed the stuff of which champs are made'! Thus defiance of the law becomes grounds for applause, and even the occasion for hero worship (New York Daily News, January 22, 1958). The fourth story recounts the incredible proposal by members of the Kings County (Brooklyn, N Y) Medical Society, that the state pass out free dope so that 'the control of narcotics would be brought into the open and taken from the hands of criminals'. (New York Daily News, January 30, 1958). In other words, we must not enforce the law and prosecute the criminal. We must decrease crime by making drug addiction free! The judge who spares the felon is, according to the New York Herald-Tribune of January 31, 1958, the Honorable John M Cannella, who released the master mind of a $250,000 fake auto-accident insurance racket with a fine of $1500 because the offender 'had never been in trouble before, had been a leader in the community and his fraternity' and that he 'was not in need of rehabilitation'. The reasoning here seems to be something on this order: it doesn't matter if you defraud one person if you pay bills you owe to another. The culprit was a successful lawyer living in one of our better suburbs, 'indicted with forty-nine others in 1955 as a key figure in a highly-organized ring which collected $250,000 in fictitious auto-accident claims over a two-year period...Practically all of the defendants pleaded guilty and except for another ring leader who received a one-year term, the others received suspended sentences for turning state's evidence'. Does crime pay? And who is responsible?

One cannot read such stories as these without realizing that crime has ceased to be something reprehensible in the public mind, and that its practitioners are no more to be blamed than other tradesmen.

The successful criminal shares the glory of those who distinguish themselves in other callings. In such a moral climate as this, it is not surprising that extortion should have become the approved implement of labor relations or that those who devote themselves to it should rob their own constituents with serene impartiality.

It is time to grow up, to learn that we cannot buy our way out, that the right way is not easy but hard, but that it is worth the effort. The Church has been telling us that for a long time. It hasn't been anything but right about it whatever Hollywood may say about short cuts, easy ways out, quick money, and the happy ending.

Jerusalem, the city of song and story, is also a city of flesh and blood. For it was here that the Word was made flesh for us, suffered and died as we shall, leaving the promise that we shall rise as he did.

The cover shows the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one of the foremost Christian shrines. In it, all historic churches of Christendom are represented: Orthodox by precedence, Roman Catholics since the Crusades, also the Copts, Syrian Christians, Ethiopians and Armenians by ancient right.

Below, a Roman Catholic Palm Sunday Procession has just left the church in the center. The Russian Church at the upper left was built by the tzars.

HOLY WEEK in the HOLY LAND

Armenian clergy at Washing of Feet on Maundy Thursday

The Roman Catholic
Chapel
of the
Holy Sepulchre

INTRODUCTION TO ORTHODOXY

VIII: Orthodoxy and Rome

Alexander Turner, SSB

Although there are four broad divisions of historic Christendom, it is of the youngest and most adventuresome that the average western Christian will first think. The superb apology of the Roman Catholic Church has instilled into even Protestant minds the idea that Rome was the first church, though they may reserve judgment as to her fidelity. Roman Catholicism as a distinct type emerged completely from the Mother of Churches only in the middle ages, while the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches became independent centuries before. From an oriental catholic viewpoint, Rome has ventured farthest from its origins.

Since Roman Catholics have been the most insistent of all Christians that there is but one true church which men must seek and find and enter, they have obliged themselves to face the facts of the case which, as they rightly maintain, cannot be a matter of indifference. But the very implausibility of the Roman position is dangerous for those who cannot distinguish their inherited orthodoxy from its heretical accretions. The Protestant Reformation and its consequences must be a warning that disillusionment with the papacy could cost Roman Catholics much more – possibly their Christianity itself. This is one great spiritual jeopardy to which the errors of the Roman See have exposed its faithful.

If our Lord had left a vicar, that would have been the most important single dogma in all Christianity. In his office would repose the key to every enigma, the answer to every question, the solution to every problem. The need for such a final authority to Christian faith and polity is advanced by Roman Catholics as a reason why it must exist.

If that were the case we would find such a basic dogma proclaimed unequivocally by our Lord, confirmed by the apostles and fathers, and ratified by the common witness of history. We should see the Vicar of Christ serenely judging all issues and guiding the flock unfalteringly in the way of truth. Universal Christendom would look with unquestioning confidence for his answer to every question and his decision in every dispute. If dissent were to arise, it would only be after men had grown indifferent to this cornerstone of the teaching church – as distance and time separated them farther and farther from the primitive Christian spirit. We would expect skepticism about such a critical matter today, as there is about all Christian landmarks. But there could have been no more doubt at first than there was about baptism or prayer or the eucharist or our Lord's messiahship.

Now the historical facts, as every reader knows, are exactly the reverse. Papal claims were advanced gradually, always against opposition, and they did not reach the audacious pinnacle of infallibility until less than a century ago, in 1870. Roman Catholicism as we know it now did not exist until the pronouncement of this cardinal tenet, though the ultramontane tendency itself was of long standing. For the differences between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy are not primarily on what bread must be used for Mass, or about the procession of the Holy Spirit. They are on the nature of the Church itself, and the implications of that nature. Rome has revised the entire structure of the faith to give one prelate a primary position and to derogate from that place to a sec-

ondary office the operation of the Holy Spirit itself, speaking as it does, through scripture, tradition, prophecy, and even the worship of the church. One might say that no conflict is implied – that the pope is simply the instrument of the Holy Spirit. But if the pope is to interpret and judge the Christian inheritance, that inheritance becomes subject to his judgment. And furthermore, it posits a double authority in theory which history shows us, has existed in fact: the Holy Spirit in the pope contradicting the Holy Spirit in tradition, from a consistent Roman Catholic position!

The early history of the Church was never smooth, and disputes arose even while our Lord was still on earth. In the 23rd Chapter of St Luke's Gospel we read how the apostles strove among themselves as to which would be greatest. This is what they were told: 'The kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.' This was an opportunity when so important a matter as the supremacy of St Peter might have been enunciated. Instead, we have a general sermon on humility. And yet, from a Roman Catholic standpoint, the primacy of St Peter was a matter of greater importance, even, and more urgently in need of statement than any personal admonishment to the apostles, or of any instructions on Christian faith or works, for all these things are in the palm of Peter, and with that settled, all other things might follow when necessary. St Peter's position would be the one crucial matter for all Christians, eternally.

The Acts XV describes how the apostles and elders held a council to settle questions which arose in regard to gentile converts. It was a point which involved the mission of the Church and its future policy. Such a matter would call for the Church's supreme authority, for Roman Catholics tell us that the Church must have such an authority to manage just such matters. But the apostles were unaware of it. Their behaviour would have been inexplicable otherwise. St Peter was not appealed to apart from the others. On a similar matter St Paul rebuked St Peter for his timidity, as we read in Galatians 2:11-12. St Peter appears as unaware of his sovereign prelacy as anyone else, for in his final testament, written just before his death (II Peter 1:15, s q) he is silent on the subject.

It is conceivable that the mind of following ages could blur on such a matter. It is hardly likely that the apostles themselves should not have known that one of their own number was their leader and endowed with such sweeping authority and power. If that were the case, we should have to conclude that St Peter was derelict in his duty to inform others of his high calling – rendering his infallible office useless – or that he did not understand our Lord's intentions – which would indicate that he was not preserved from fatal ignorance!

Here we have the Christian Church in full operation. It is organized, has officers and a method of handling its affairs. It is a church of the east – Jerusalem and Antioch notably – and it was sending its missionaries to more distant places including Rome. St Peter himself was *sent* by the apostolic body to Samaria (Acts 8:14). This was within the power of the Church as a whole, which bestowed honors and assigned labor, just as it settled its problems, by joint decision of the equal apostles and elders.

Roman Catholics now take it for granted that St Peter was the first

bishop of Rome, and a papal archeological commission has certified a tomb under St Peter's Basilica as that of their patron. The claim is not uncontested. St Peter's epistles state that they were written in Babylon (understood by Roman Catholics to really mean Rome and not Babylon) and the Coptic Church claims a place of that name on the Nile as their origin, while the Church of the East (Nestorian) takes him at his word and regards him as the founder of their see of that name. The Patriarch of Antioch has always shared with the Roman pontiff the claim to succeed St Peter.

The best evidence available leaves St Peter's Roman episcopate a matter of uncertainty. Even if his presence there were demonstrable it would remain uncertain whether or not he intended to make Rome his official seat, relinquishing Antioch. Beyond that would be the further question of what prerogatives were transmitted to his successors in that post. A successor of St Peter at Antioch, St Ignatius, was brought to his martyrdom in Rome, but no case could be made from his mere presence there that he was Bishop of Rome. We know of St Paul's presence there from his epistles, which are also strangely silent on any visit St Peter might have made. Could he be regarded as Bishop of Rome? It is doubtful if any of the apostles except perhaps SS James and John were what we should now call bishops with ordinary jurisdiction. Certainly such questions never troubled their minds, and the Roman theory of Petrine succession depends upon premises which did not exist until it was too late for them to be used as evidence.

Although the reasons for denying Roman claims are more fundamental than St Peter's personal history, the latter is significant because, like all the factors of the case, it is only conjectural. And thus matters which are of the core of the Christian dispensation, and which, we are assured by Roman theologians, are the ultimate certainty of Christian life and faith, were left in a state of complete uncertainty by our Lord himself and by subsequent history! From what we definitely know, it may well be that those vestments so laboriously wrought by ultramontane theologians really belong to the Patriarch of Antioch, rather than to the Pope!

As a living body animated by a common Spirit, the Church was one, and its unity, a serious concern. St Ignatius of Antioch (c 107) seems to have been the first to speak clearly of church organization, for he tells the Smyrneans: 'Without the bishop let no one do any of those things connected with the Church... Let that be deemed a proper eucharist which is administered either by the bishop or by him to whom he has entrusted it... But whatsoever he shall approve that is also pleasing to God, so that everything that is done may be secure and valid.' It is not to the pope that St Ignatius directs his readers, but to the bishop. With due allowance for the uncertainty of communication, one might expect a passing reference at least to what Roman Catholics insist has always been acknowledged the center of unity. Instead, we find prelates joining and breaking communion with each other at a rate and for reasons which would distress modern Christians, both Roman and Orthodox. For example, Rome was out of communion with the Patriarch Meletius of Antioch who presided over the Second Ecumenical Council, and with its moving spirits. But Meletius died during its sessions and was immediately proclaimed a saint. Rome also presumed to pass judgment upon the claims of Gregory of Nazianzen to the throne of Constantinople. He

too became a saint of the church, and the Council itself, which was a local eastern affair, opposed to some western intentions, was eventually recognized as ecumenical by east and west alike. Rome was out of communion with a large part of the North Italian church during the sixth century, and with Constantinople at various times. Pope Victor (198) attempted to excommunicate eastern bishops whose method of calculating the date of Easter differed from his own. And, of course, eastern bishops behaved quite as badly on occasion.

Easy divisions were a failing of the time, and Rome's record was no better than others'. The see enjoyed a unique prestige and often succumbed to the temptation of its position. Conflict with the Church's supreme administrative and teaching authority, the church council, was inevitable. When Constantine convened the Council of Nicea to deal with the Arian heresy the pope was detained by illness, and this gave rise to the affectation of later Roman pontiffs who absented themselves deliberately in pretence of superior dignity. The convocation of I Nicea in itself shows how foreign was the Roman Catholic idea of an infallible pope to the mind of that day. Had Constantine been a Roman Catholic, he would doubtless have settled the matter simply, efficiently and immediately, by placing the whole business in the hands of the pope. Instead, he went to great expense to bring bishops from all parts of the world to decide a question which one individual was available to decide, and should by rights, have been asked to decide. As a matter of fact, the Roman See was little concerned over Arianism which was the most serious of heresies, and it was the great force of the deacon Athanasius of Alexandria who aroused the Church to its dangers. A few decades later the Pope Liberius, after condemning the heresy, was forced to sign an Arian document.

The second ecumenical council met without the pope's knowledge as a local eastern gathering, at Constantinople in 381, and was later acclaimed ecumenical by the universal voice of the Church. The third council was called by the emperor and held at Ephesus in 431 to judge Nestorianism. This council followed a condemnation of Nestorius by the pope in 430 and would have been both redundant and presumptuous from a Roman Catholic standpoint. The pope's letter and a statement by Nestorius were both examined and judged by the fathers, who found against Nestorius.

The fourth council was called by the Emperor Marcion at the behest of, but not by, the pope. It convened in 451 at Chalcedon to consider the monophysite question. Pope St Leo's *Tome* dealing with the subject had already been circulated and the important participants in the council were in agreement with him. But in spite of St Leo's influence as the most powerful man of his age, despite the previous concurrence of the chief fathers, the proprieties were observed. Even after the *Tome* was acclaimed by the council it was still examined and judged and then accepted. In its 28th canon, the Council of Chalcedon spoke thus: 'And indeed the fathers wisely gave the primacy to the see of the elder Rome because that city was the ruler; and the 150 most God-beloved bishops, moved by the same purpose, appointed a like primacy to the most holy see of new Rome (Constantinople) rightly judging that the city honored because of her rule and her senate should enjoy a like primacy to that of the elder imperial Rome, and should be powerful in church affairs just as she is and should be second

after her.' In the fifth century, just as in the first, it was the *Church* which bestowed its honours, even upon the highest prelates. And it was the Church too, which exercised the final judgment on dogma.

The fifth council met at Constantinople in 553 without the consent of the pope, Honorius, whose name was removed by it from the diptychs, and who was later forced by it to renounce his defence of monophysitism.

The purpose of reviewing these councils is to show that the early Church knew nothing of the prerogatives which the Roman See now claims, and that such powers of governing and teaching resided in the Church as a whole and were usually (though not always) exercised by general councils.

The sixth council was also convened at the imperial command, at Constantinople, in 680. Although it was intended to be only a local council, it proclaimed itself ecumenical at its first session. Its main concern was monothelitism, an attempt to compromise orthodoxy in favor of the monophysites. In its proceedings we find these words: '...we likewise provide that Honorius, who was Bishop of Rome, should be cast forth from the Church of God and anathematized because we find by his writings to Sergius that he followed his mind in all things and confirmed his impious dogmas.' Pope Leo II confirmed the acts of this council and in a letter he also condemns 'Honorius who did not illuminate this apostolic see with the doctrine of apostolic tradition, but permitted her who was undefiled to be polluted by profane teaching.' The condemnation was repeated by the next council and it became part of the profession of faith made by popes on their election from the sixth to the ninth century. It was also found in Roman breviaries until the end of the sixteenth century.

The seventh and last of the ecumenical councils met in Nicea in 787 to deal with the matter of image worship. It was convened by the empress, with the assent of the pope, who was represented, and its decisions were received by all except the Franks who were still tinged with Arianism.

It is interesting to note that the ecumenical council as an organ of the Church developed not from any direct initiative of the Church itself, but at the instigation of the civil power which recognized the Church's authority and felt the necessity of giving that authority a proper voice. Why was it deaf to the Vicar of Christ?

Rome was looked to for guidance and help by its episcopal dependencies, as were all metropolitan sees. Its wealth was considerable and it disposed it charitably to help those who were less favored. As the civil power declined in the west, temporal responsibilities devolved upon the papacy which was not always anxious to assume them. But the temptations of power were irresistable once exercised. Rome's growing encroachments brought it into continual conflict with the rest of the Church. An Antiochene council held in 341 ordered Pope Julius to cease his attempts to interfere with eastern affairs and threatened him with excommunication if he persisted. St Cyprian of Carthage resolutely withstood Pope Stephen's stand on the reception of heretics and denied his right to speak in behalf of the Church on such a matter. History has vindicated Stephen's position, but Cyprian reflected the polity of the time.

In 384 Pope Siricius undertakes to answer the inquiries of a Spanish bishop in the tone which is to be increasingly assumed by his successors. Later there are collec-

tions of such epistles published as precedents to justify papal pretensions. The presumption of one pope thus became the sanction for his successors.

Pelagius, who gave his name to the heresy that man alone was responsible for the grace of a good disposition, figures in another papal blunder. He was condemned by a council of his own African church and appealed to Pope Zosimus who declared him orthodox and rebuked his accusers as mischief-makers, pretenders in the episcopate, and excommunicates! The African bishops stood firm and Zosimus was forced to retract. Zosimus justified his interference by mistakenly attributing to the Council of Nicea a canon giving him the right to receive such appeals. When the Africans learned that a local council of Sardica was its origin they ordered the pope to send no more representatives to their councils, to receive no more suspended African clergy, and threatened with excommunication any who should thereafter attempt to thus thwart the discipline of their own church. As the popes arrogated to themselves more powers and privileges, the consent of the Church to honors which were rightfully theirs, was deemed insufficient. Divine sanction was then asserted for whatever liberties they wished to take.

The most frequently strained relations were naturally between the Bishops of Rome and their rivals in Constantinople. Unlike the former, the latter were always under the control of the emperor. To him they owed the eminence of their see, which had been raised to patriarchal status only in 381 and then because it was the seat of the emperor. In the ninth century Pope Nicholas I involved himself in a local dispute between two claimants who alternately occupied and abdicated the Constantinopolitan throne: Photius and Ignatius. This interference was justified by appeals to the false literature with which the papacy was now fortifying its position. Photius is venerated as a saint by the eastern church, but has been stigmatized as a scoundrel by Rome. Neither side was distinguished by charity or moderation. But the partisan vexations were symptoms of a deeper conflict between the autocratic patriarchate of Rome and the oligarchical majority of the Church. Had the circumstances of the case not been serious, they would not have been so thoroughly exploited in partisan interests.

At bottom was a critical issue: a new, monarchical Christianity, or the Christianity which our Lord himself had left, which the apostles and the church fathers knew, and tradition uniformly supported. The choice was becoming inevitable. The persistent aggressions of one predatory patriarchate, unrestrained by a local civil power, doomed the Church to either slavery or to schism. But Providence deals with necessity in its own way, and freedom of the spirit was to prevail where only the spirit was free.

The year 1054 is more emblematic than precise in dating the great schism. An exchange of excommunications between pope and patriarch took place in that year, but there was no clean break between them at any time. Latin churches remained open in Constantinople for years, which would not have been the case had there been an official break between the churches, rather than between the hierarchs. And Latins were communicated at Orthodox altars until the crusades completed the schism. As late as the beginning of the thirteenth century the Patriarch Theodore Balsamon of Antioch was criticized for urging the excommunication of Latins.

The precipitating causes of the schism have been exaggerated. Among the Latin grievances were the excision (sic!) of the phrase filioque ('and from the Son') from the Nicene Creed,* the ordination of eunuchs and the marriage of the clergy. Constantinople condemned the use of the filioque, the refusal of communion to bearded clergy, the persecution of married clergy, and the use of unleavened bread in the liturgy. Other charges on both sides were trivial and even absurd.

The subsequent history of the independent Roman Catholic Church has provided its full quota of evidence that the pope is fallible, even as other mortals: that we cannot be sure who really is the pope (as during the period of rival popes): and that the protective judgment which is claimed to be an essential feature of the Church is seldom if ever exercised when it is most needed.

* * *

It is not this historical picture which the modern Roman Catholic sees, but a new composition, freed from historical, traditional and Biblical entanglements. It is commanding in its dimensions and persuasive in its simplicity. The pope orders, and all obey. The pope speaks, and all believe. Simple solutions are always attractive, and the Roman genius for argument has exploited the position with acumen, and enriched it with an impressive pomp and panoply.

But when we probe beneath this arresting exterior we find that the pope speaks and is not believed. He commands, but is not obeyed. His mistakes would lead men into heresy except for the vigilance of theologians. Popes are excommunicated by councils and their own successors. The most serious questions are settled apart from the pope, sometimes against his wishes, showing that an infallible official of the Church was unsuspected until recent times.

Since this beguilingly simple machine does not operate, it has become necessary to construct an elaborate system of auxiliaries which are more complex, costly and uncertain than the primitive polity they would replace. The final authority proves to be, not the pope speaking solemnly from his throne, not the plausibly simple solution, but the complex machinery which is devised to keep it going. It is to this that we must turn if we are to know whether the pope is really speaking *ex cathedra*, or merely as a private person; why he seems to say one thing and must be understood to mean something else.

The modern papacy represents the end of a long and gradual metamorphosis. St Peter was the Prince of the Apostles and the first among equals. Five centuries later St Gregory the Great renounced the title of 'universal bishop' as arrogant and unbecoming. In another seven centuries Innocent III was able to say that the pope stands 'in the midst between God and man... he judges all, is judged of none, for it is written "I will judge."' Only in recent times has it become possible for a pope to characterize himself as 'we who stand in the place of God upon this earth'! (Leo XIII, 1903). By now the western patriarchate has wandered far from its origins. Habits of thought formed in the urbanized atmosphere of the university bear only a formal connection with the deposit of faith. The school spirit has replaced the evangelical sense of the Spirit speaking immediately to all the Church. Gradually the Roman Catholic mind was prepared to accept

*It was, of course, a western novelty, introduced first in Spain, then gradually elsewhere, and in Rome only about the eleventh century.

in 1870 a doctrinal novelty which an earlier age would have instantly rejected as preposterous.* So too did it become able to ignore the eloquent disproof of history and to improvise the theoretical contrivances which were continually needed to explain the failure of the primary mechanism.

In the same spirit, passages could be quoted out of context with an effect which a little casual reading would dispel. The honors bestowed upon St Peter, his primacy in the apostolic college and the many allusions to him as a figurehead, used by themselves, imply something other than a reading of the entire books – even a casual reading – would disclose. Every distinction granted to any one of the apostles was granted to all except the primacy of honor.

Our Lord is specific as to the powers which he delegated. The Church was to be guided and protected through the ages; he tells about baptism, the forgiveness of sins, the celebration of the eucharist. No doubt is left in one's mind as to how he is to pray, or about our Lord's own identity and mission or how that mission was to be carried out. But the Petrine Vicariate, supremely important, is completely neglected.

Roman Catholics appeal to the passage 'Thou art Peter (a stone) and upon this rock I will build my church'. The play on words is obvious, and also the association of two similar but different ideas. Our Lord did not say 'thou art the rock upon which I will build my Church' or 'upon thee as a rock I will build my Church'. He said in effect 'thou art a stone, and upon this rock I will build my Church. To say that St Peter was the rock would twist the plain meaning of the words. The overwhelming majority of church fathers understood the rock to mean the faith which Peter confessed, or our Lord himself, or all the apostles. Quoting St Augustine: '"Thou art Peter," he says, "and on this petra which thou hast confessed, saying "thou art Christ the son of the living God" will I build my Church: that is to say, on myself. I will build thee on myself, not myself on thee." Men willing to build on man said, "I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Peter". But others, who were unwilling to be built upon Peter but would be built on the rock – not on Petrus but on Petra – said, "I am of Christ."' The great Alexandrian father, Origen, asks his readers 'If you imagine that it was on Peter alone the Church is built, what then would you say about John the Son of Thunder, or any other of the apostles?' Of the minority who interpret the rock as St Peter, Tertullian is typical in regarding it as a personal, not a hereditary, attribute. Indeed the idea of a hereditary headship of the Church – of any human headship – did not exist until pressed by popes at a later date.

Romans claim this passage as the very charter of the pope's sovereign

*But it did so with no unanimity. Many participants in the Vatican Council of 1870 which accepted the dogma of Papal Infallibility seem to have lost their scripts, despite an astutely staged campaign embracing every conceivable parliamentary and political device, every available means for direct and indirect pressure on the opposition including suppression of debate. Several made so bold as to brave the consequences by speaking out frankly on the matter, and the memoirs and personal histories of others, including von Dollinger, perhaps Rome's greatest contemporary theologian, show very plainly the lengths to which ultramontanists were driven to achieve their ends. *Roman Catholic Opposition to Papal Infallibility* by W J Sparrow Simpson is a good account of the events at the Council and those leading to it.

powers: a charter so ambiguous that experts living much nearer the time of its deliverance could find in it no hint of the momentous implications now attributed to it!

Although there were several occasions which might have required a pronouncement on St Peter's position, the same answer was given in each case, or the point was evaded. We have seen how the apostles strove among themselves as to which would be greatest, and how our Lord answered them with his homily about the greatest being as servants, thus evading the question. Then he addresses Peter with words which plainly indicate his anxiety for Peter's faith: 'Simon... Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.' When St Peter declared his undying fealty, our Lord then prophesied Peter's triple apostacy. Roman Catholics have actually appealed to this incident for support of papal claims!

In another case the mother of SS John and James asked that her children be seated at our Lord's right and left hand in heaven. Although our Lord spoke of the kingdom prepared for the apostles, how they would judge the twelve tribes, he states that the Father alone would appoint the places. Similar instances are recorded in Luke 9:46 and Mark 9:34. But none is more telling than that in the 22nd Chapter of Luke. There, but a short time before his betrayal and crucifixion, the urgency of the moment certainly equalled the importance of the subject. But there is only silence.

Perhaps the most quoted reference is St Matthew 16:19: 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' But see the same book 18:18 where the same powers of binding and loosing are given to the church as a whole, making this no exclusive prerogative of St Peter. And speaking of the judgment of the twelve tribes, our Lord includes all the apostles without distinction.

* * *

The significant thing here and everywhere in the Roman case is not that the evidence is inadequate. It is rather, that it constitutes the strongest argument against it. For, if one is going to say that one official will forever after hold the key to every question, he does not do so in terms which no one could possibly take for such a momentous pronouncement – terms which the hearers could not understand, their followers did not decipher, and which no impartial observer would ever dream of interpreting in such a far-fetched manner. The very inadequacy of the 'proof' is so complete as to constitute the strongest argument against it, and the net effect is to emphasize that no single prelate, however exalted, enjoyed privileges of such a kind apart from the Church as a whole.

There is a similar tendency to select quotations from church history. When St Leo's *Tome* was submitted to the Council of Chalcedon, the fathers of the council received it with great acclaim. 'Peter has spoken through Leo' and so on. Romans have seized upon such ejaculations as proof of Petrine (hence papal) infallibility. But the sequel, which we should also know, was that after receiving the document with such encomiums, the fathers proceeded to examine it thoroughly and pass their independent judgment upon its orthodoxy – hardly becoming for anyone who had kissed the toe of Peter!

Another circumstance to which Roman Catholics appeal was the submission in early times of disputes among local churches to the Roman patriarchate. One might take that as suggesting a supreme authority over the entire Church. But reference to third parties is a normal means for settling disputes, and it does not imply that third parties possess authority over those who enlist their good offices. One must not confuse prestige or influence with authority or jurisdiction. Each patriarchate was similarly appealed to. Rome's position made her a logical choice, but she was far from alone as a mediator, and her services as such can be taken at no more than face value.

The modern Roman mind is no less adventuresome in dealing with the inconsistencies of the Roman See. Pope Liberius is exonerated for signing an Arian document on the plea of duress. Honorius is excused because he 'interpreted' the monothelitism of Sergius of Constantinople 'in a perfectly orthodox way'! Of Vigilius, who compromised with the heresy of the two persons, and who was retrieved by the Second Council of Constantinople, it is said that he did not issue contradictory definitions on the faith, but simply changed his mind on a matter of expediency' and, concludes Addis and Arnold's Catholic Dictionary, 'This of course is the only theory consistent with the definitions of the Vatican Council and the only one admissible.' Thus history becomes subject to dogma.

A frequent recourse in such cases is to separate the official, infallible pope from the private, errant Christian. Thus it is the unofficial Christian who makes mistakes, but speaking *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and morals, the official pope is infallible. Such an argument can carry no weight whatever.

To whom did Pelagius appeal but to him whom, Roman Catholics tell us, the Church must have as its indefectible arbiter? If St Leo's *Tome* is to be offered as evidence of the pope's infallible voice, how are we to know that Leo must be believed while Pope Zosimus, who vindicated Pelagius, is to be doubted? If it was not the pope who subscribed the name of Liberius to an Arian document, how can we be sure that the papal seal has not been forged more successfully in other cases?

The answer is, of course, that we are to learn which is which from theologians whose business it is to answer such questions. And thus, in the final resort, Roman Catholics agree with the Church insofar as they place the ultimate decision in other hands than the pope's.

The lengths to which Roman apologists have been driven to explain their position is pathetic: faith and morals were not involved; the entire Church was not concerned, but only part of it; or the error was an *obiter dictum*, not the real answer to the question or problem.

Now recall, if you will, the argument that the Church must have an infallible, accessible touchstone of faith and morals: *to guarantee the purity of Christian faith and morals and thus insure the safety of souls*. It would be hard to conceive of a more appropriate test case than that which involved the hapless Sixtus V. This pious and energetic pontiff published an edition of the vulgate Latin Bible bearing a constitution in which he proclaimed its plenary authority for all future time. 'By the fullness of apostolic power we decree and declare that this edition, approved by the authority delivered to us by the Lord, is to be received and held as true, lawful, authentic and unquestioned in all public and

private discussion, reading, preaching and explanations.' Various restrictions and safeguards were to insure its preservation and permanent use, and anyone altering it in any way would incur the greater excommunication with absolution reserved to the pope himself. So great was Sixtus' zeal that he edited the manuscripts personally and overruled a commission he had appointed for the work. The case is, if any could be, a classical example of all the reasons why we must have an infallible voice to guard the Church from error. One could never plead that there were any exceptions or loop-holes here. The pope is free to judge, the matter is of the utmost importance, and the safety of souls is involved. It conjures up all the reasons Christendom is said to require an infallible guide, and it meets every qualification. It would not be possible to find a more sincere, deliberate and free exercise of the papal powers by a pontiff obviously concerned for the proper guidance of the faithful, and determined to use his powers to that end.

When the edition appeared it was found to be full of inaccuracies, a literary and theological catastrophe of such proportions that the great patron saint of papal pretensions, Cardinal Bellarmine himself, said that it had placed the Church in peril! Now who was responsible for this state of affairs? if it was a private scholar, what is one to make of Sixtus' pontifical proclamation ordering its perpetual use and threatening those who questioned it? This is not the voice of a private scholar, certainly. For the pope cannot impersonate himself quite as well as that, to borrow a Celticism. What, then, becomes of the touchstone of truth which the Church must have?

Every Roman Catholic knows that baptism must be performed in the names of the Trinity. He also knows that the essentials of ordination are imposition of hands with prayer. Nicholas I told the Bulgarians that baptism in the name of Jesus was sufficient. Eugenius IV told the Armenians that orders are conveyed by the tradition of instruments and prayers which did not even exist for Christianity's first thousand years! Whom did the Bulgarians and the Armenians question? Nor a private Christian, certainly, but the one whom we are told must be available for questioning on such matters.

How can a pope be compelled to proclaim error if his pronouncements are to be safeguarded? Does not the pope's vulnerability to duress dispose of such a theory *ipso facto*? To insure the divinely guided pronouncement, Roman dogma would necessarily presuppose a divinely guided history. And if history must thus be guided, how can the Vicar of Christ be subject to temporal impediments? Is divine guidance thwarted by misinformation or interference? Or, on the other hand, if we are to believe that God moves in wondrous ways to protect the truth – and all catholics alike do believe that – then it would be mere prejudice to deny to Arians and monophysites the support they have received from the Roman See. Surely it is a capricious theology at best which can trace the finger of God forging False Decretals at one moment, and at the next, disclaim any divine guidance for a sincere and independent prelate like Sixtus who almost scandalized the Church with his ardent but misguided scholarship.

* * *

The record shows us that a) claims now advanced for the papacy were unknown in ancient times; b) that they were invented by various individuals, known and unknown, and

advanced by various means including forgery; c) the powers of the Roman See were acquired to a large extent by persistent encroachments upon the rights of other sees under pretexts which were often false; d) the papacy does not have a record which supports its claims to infallibility; e) the popes have disproved their own infallibility; f) no pope has ever settled an important doubt of the body of the faithful by a definitive allocution and thus exercised the office which Roman Catholics claim is indispensable to the Church.

It is therefore necessary for a Roman Catholic to hold a different order of faith in his Church's position than he places in his inherited Christian orthodoxy. He would feel grave concern for a baptism administered according to the form sanctioned by Pope Nicholas I. How is he to accept also the fact that an infallible pope might have thus mislead a considerable number of the faithful on the conditions which his own Church requires for their salvation? If the Vatican Council meant what it said, he is an inconsistent Roman Catholic for so doing and, indeed, inconsistency is inescapable. If the pope is truly infallible, indefectible, that is considerably more important than the technicalities of baptism to which, as one of many things in heaven and earth, he holds the keys.

The prevailing tendency in Roman Catholic circles today is to leave to the elementary levels of pamphleteering and pulpit oratory such palpably inadequate arguments as were once sought from scripture. The appeal of 'the one fold and the one shepherd' is stronger than any case based on evidence. It was undoubtedly this which moved Newman and others, first to their own submission, and then to their ingenious though novel apologies. The fascination which this modern apologetic theology exercises on some minds is undeniable. The forgeries are frankly admitted. But they were only incidentals to a grand conclusion, regrettable mistakes which nevertheless served a noble purpose. The supreme papacy is justified by the fitness of things, by probability. Where else do you find an infallible guide but in Rome? She is unchanged and unchanging, yet all who leave her are tossed about by winds of uncertainty.

If the use of the forgeries had been inadvertent we should have to believe popes misguided. How then could we expect guidance from them? To say that a divinely appointed standard of virtue and truth had been created through deception as contemporary apologists would appear to do, or even that it would use deception for pious ends would be a little like saying that the Resurrection might as well have been a hoax if it achieved the right ends!

To meet the specifications now drawn for his office, a pope would need to be at least superhuman, for even the Body of Christ itself does not claim exemption from the normal course of nature. But if the pope is a member of the church and draws his powers from it, he must be responsible to the church and speak only on behalf of the church's, not his own, authority. Roman theologians explicitly reject the idea that papal powers are delegated by the church. Is he, then, a member of the church? Or is he in a quasi-divine status above it? Romans like the similie of head and members. But the word head can only mean the presiding intelligence, which all catholics agree, belongs exclusively to our Lord. If it were possible to apply this title to the pope, how could one explain that it had been necessary on occasion for the members to rescue the head from error? If disease could thus infect

the head, how can mere technicalities, often unclarified for centuries, protect the body?

Nothing is more definite in all history than that occupants of every office in the church have been liable to error both officially and privately. The spirit of truth and prophecy was promised to the Church, but not to the occupants of some post in the Church.

The certainty which our Roman Catholic brothers profess is a partial certainty based upon a partial orthodox inheritance. That far, it is indeed founded upon a rock. Beyond that, it can comfort only those who are willing to overlook a distortion of scripture, premises which vanish upon inspection, documents now admittedly spurious, and a church polity which would have scandalized the apostles.

However sincere a Roman Catholic may be, he cannot blind himself to the plainest facts of Roman Catholic history. Nor do Rome's size and organization alter these facts. Each of us can find in history such meanings as best fit his own case. It is easy to visualize a thirteenth century Nestorian contemplating the vast reaches of his Church, numbering more souls than the Greek and Roman together, and taking it as evidence that its polity or its doctrine had been certified by the course of history. Orthodox believe that their Church is a living testimony that providence intervened to save Christendom from ecclesiastical autocracy. They can also reflect that an infallible guide is not needed to direct us the way the crowd is going, but to tell us when the crowd is going the wrong way, as in the days of the Arian heresy. To think that the course of history will settle ecclesiological contests is exceedingly poor logic, inappropriate to the nature of Christian philosophy, and inapposite for any but occasional situations. In the last analysis it depends upon the assumption that might makes right, and by it the man with the momentary advantage is vindicated.

* * *

The Roman facade appears so massive at first glance that it is surprising to find it so feebly supported, or to be whisked away each time one pauses to examine a questionable feature. But it is so. Look carefully into the popes's mistakes and we are quickly ushered out of the pontifical presence and into that of a private Christian whose liability to error is normal. Point out that popes have shown themselves to be average theologians for the most part, and we learn that it is not the human judgment of the official which protects the faith but a divine guidance. What then happened to guidance in the cases of Vigilius, Honorius, Liberius, Sixtus? They were misinformed or subjected to force. Then evil men or happenstance can interfere with the pope's infallible guidance? No, for a condition is that he be free to judge and possess all the evidence. But it was not the human abilities to judge which guaranteed infallibility, not the pope's personal wisdom or theological acumen, but divine protection. And this is where we began, to learn that human conditions, such as the freedom to judge really were necessary.

When we observe the non-existence of foundations which Romans claim in history, and upon which they have built their edifice, we are asked what difference if the facts were otherwise – hypothetical – as long as the building was built? The pope claims obedience of all men when they learn of his claims which they may not dispute because he judges all and is judged of none.

Now if we paraphrase this case, we

will have an argument like this:

The pope is infallible.
How do you know?
Because he says so.
But how does he know?
Because he is infallible and knows everything.

Or, like this:

Why do you believe that the pope is the head of the church?
Because he has always been regarded as such.
But look at the facts for yourself and you will find that he has not been so regarded.
Since he is infallible and the head of the church I do not need to consult history, for I am told all I must know, by him.
But that is an argument in a circle. You are saying that something is so 'just because'.
What difference does that make if it is so?

A formula which claims to be as simple as the divine essence, as constant as gravity, as certain and predictable as mathematics evaporates in a cloud of metaphor, symbolism, make-believe and special pleading when we attempt to apply it. We have thrown open the portals of a palace, to find only a vacant lot.

The appeal to necessity can mean nothing in regard to Roman pretensions, for there can be no reasonable presumption, much less certainty, that the pope possesses unique credentials. Without a certainty about that, the faithful can place no confidence whatever in papal infallibility. Furthermore, if it is necessary that open questions be decisively settled, why was such a responsibility confided to an ambiguous agent? It is ironic that Roman Catholic theologians have such difficulty in deciding just when the pope has spoken infallibly!

* * *

It is hard to see how a sincere Roman Catholic who knows the entire story can come to terms with these facts, and indeed very few ever have occasion to do so, for they never learn of them, but are content like most other Christians with the loyalty of a good heart to abide in love with their pastors and leave professional problems to professional minds. And when the issue develops, as it does for many an inquiring priest, it is ignored as one of the prices to be paid for a comfortable spiritual life. After all, there are many things we can not hope to understand. Why question this? One very good reason is that this dubious institution is offered as the answer to all questions and the source of spiritual comfort and certainty. What comfort can we take in a counterfeit? It raises doubts rather than removes them. Secondly, it condemns itself on its own evidence. For, to dogmatize untruth is to present the believer with a clearly defined moral embarrassment: support of a demonstrably false guide is in itself wrong, and the conscience demands correction. At this point the believer is confronted by a precept of his own Church that his conscience must be followed, even if it takes him out of the Church. (The happy ending, for those who insist, is that he is saved by invincible ignorance.)

In contrast to this magisterial ideal, Orthodoxy has maintained that the Church is the continuing Incarnation among men, organized as a society, existing within the framework of the world, the Kingdom of God in the world, to which each soul aspires, and where, according to the measure of its ability, it will find security and truth. The Church has contented herself with the role with which her founder has endowed her: the mystical Body, crucified, incarnate, and subject to the physical world.

Her crucifixions have been a continuation of the one crucifixion on Calvary, just as her Incarnation began at the manger. Orthodox have been enslaved but the Church has been free, for our Lord's kingdom is only *in* this world, not *of* it. The Church would be false to her trust in any other guise, for we are commanded to take up the cross and follow the way of Calvary here, even though we aspire to live in glory hereafter.

The question of certainty is therefore first and always a question of the identity of the Church itself, for the Church is our Lord's Body, and he is its head. It is only by doubting the Church, the Body to which guidance was promised, that one can believe in a human authority superior to the Church. The flock has not been left destitute, nor the sheep abandoned to place their trust amiss in one of their own number. 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' That is why our Lord left no vicar as his own words and his own silences tell us – no successor, that is, except the Holy Spirit who would lead the Church into all truth.

The Church has never forgotten that the Roman pontiffs were once her sons. Nor does she cease to pray for the time when they will once again take their honored place among the members of Christ's mystical Body. If and how that can be, is not now evident. By claiming personal supremacy over the Church they would appear to have closed all doors to their return. All other issues are secondary and would probably yield to sincere, charitable and prayerful discussion. But the Church itself cannot be reconstituted according to a radical and even non-Christian pattern.

The final Chapter, Orthodoxy and Modern Paganism,
will appear in the next issue

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BOOKS

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, edited by F L Cross, D Phil, DD. London: Oxford University Press: 1957. Pp xix, 1492 $17.50

We have long needed a good single volume religious reference. Most recent attempts have left something to be desired either in perspective, proportion, or scholarship. Roman Catholics have done better by the field than others, but their work is of limited usefulness to non-Roman Catholics. One valiant attempt which professed to be a comprehensive encyclopaedia was so poorly edited that a subject such as prayer was dismissed in a brief paragraph of strongly anthropological flavor, while obscure American social reformers received several columns! And a fancy for the Bultmann variety of scholarly skepticism made it even less useful.

That the field should now be entered by the organization which has given us such splendid works as the Oxford *Companions* to music, literature, *Dictionaries* of quotations, proverbs, and the famous *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*, is welcome news indeed. This newest member of the Oxford family is worthy in all respects to stand beside these justly famous volumes.

Clergy invest more in books than most people, but except for their Bible, Missal and Breviary, their dollar nowhere buys as much as when spent for a good reference book.

As a Dictionary of the Christian *Church*, it has an established orientation which will be congenial to Orthodox, and it exhibits the fine scholarship one has come to expect, both of Oxford publications, and of Anglican editors.

Yet the neo-pagan scene is not entirely neglected. The crazy sects are represented, and all who have contributed materially to recent Christian thought, whether constructively or otherwise, are adequately discussed.

An inconsistency toward contemporary personages has been noted and one critic dryly observes that while one can read about St John Fischer, a martyr under the Reformation, he will seek in vain for something about the present Archbishop of Canterbury! The same elusiveness of the obvious probably explains why nothing is found under *Eastern Orthodox*, or *Greek* or *Russian Orthodox Church*.

Entries on Christianity in the various nations are comprehensive except those in the east – apparently Greece and Russia being the only Orthodox nations so represented. But aside from those limitations, Orthodox vocabulary, vestments, history and personalities are all well represented. One may take it that, like the word Christianity itself, the Church needed no entry *per se!*

The work is conversationally written, easy to read, and as fully informative as a single volume could be expected to be. The bibliographies are especially good and give an excellent start for more extensive study. One misses the crisp and businesslike orderliness of the famous old *Catholic Dictionary* by Addis and Arnold. But the more comprehensive and nonpartisan coverage is more than ample compensation.

Despite its substantial cost, this *Dictionary* will be a productive investment for any buyer.

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Matthew Spinka. New York: Oxford University Press: 1956. Pp xi, 179. $3.25

In 1914 the Russian Church numbered 67 dioceses, 130 bishops, 50,105 other clergy, 117,400,000 faithful, 54,174 church buildings, 550 monasteries with 21,330 monks and novices, 473 convents with 73,299 nuns, 58 seminaries. 'In 1940, the Soviet Press Bureau reported that there still existed – but on a somewhat larger territory – 4225 churches served by 5665 priests under 28 bishops. Hence, slightly more than 10 per cent of the number of churches and about 11 per cent of the clergy of all grades survived the appalling rigors of the terrible years between 1914 and 1940. And those are official figures, representing, since 1927, years when the Church was supposedly absolutely free and unhindered.' (p 118) What happened between and thereafter is the subject of Dr Spinka's story, which begins with the 1917 Revolution and continues to 1955. Its express purpose is to present the subject as a unified story, more completely developed than a detailed though more extensive chronological account might have done. This the author essays in three divisions devoted to the three chief hierarchs of the period: Tikhon, Sergius and Alexei, and each comprising a brief biography, a record of events and references.

The events of the period appear no less grim than we have believed in this country, but there are facts to show how cleverly duplicitous the communist government has been in carrying out its savage plans – facts for the ignorance of which Americans can easily fall to the astute propaganda of half-truth. Throughout the reign of terror which saw the imprisonment and torture and murder of thousands, the government maintained a formal pretence of indifference toward the Church, attacking it more effectively from the rear. The central organization was deprived of its legal existence leaving the hierarchy prey to ambitious collaborators and professional agitators. It is one of the miracles of modern times that the Church survived at all against an omnipotent, hostile state and subsidized enemies within its own fold. The cult was permitted, and even the vessels and other instruments necessary to its conduct were insured to the parishes. But most of the Church's treasures were confiscated, to turn up in art shops farther west. One could go to church – if he could find one open. So many were closed that the threat was not serious! One could teach religion. But if he did to anyone under eighteen, or publicly to groups of more than three, he would pay.

These are devices which the true-blue American is quite unable to understand. Religion is not opposed in Russia. There are open churches to prove it. The Bible and prayer books and periodicals are printed. The Russian hierarchy itself proclaims that religion is free, and so on. Duplicity is not an American trait, and we have become accustomed to accepting face values. *The Church in Soviet Russia* shows both sides of this picture quite comprehensively.

The Church in Russia has always been under the thumb of the government. But imperial Russia was a Christian government in sympathy at least, while the Soviet is dogmatically committed to oppose religion of every kind, which it does with a brutal efficiency.

Notwithstanding its monarchical background, the Synod of 1917 did not condemn the Revolution by which the tzar fell, and even declared

it to be the will of God, substituting prayers for the Provisional Government for those said for the tzar. Patriarch Tikhon raised his voice courageously against the Bolsheviks and refused to leave his post when in personal danger, and urged to do so by those around him, though he was later forced to a more conciliatory attitude. And when compelled to acquiesce to the confiscation of Church treasure he forbad the surrender of consecrated objects.

We have heard much of the pressure on the Emigre Synod to submit to Moscow and accept its political position, but learn here that its clergy were first bidden to submit to the established churches of their residence, which would, of course have left them free to speak on affairs in Russia. But instead, they insisted upon speaking *for* the Russian Church, and even professed a responsibility to Moscow while embarrassing the Church with such acts as a resolution that God might restore a tzar to the throne. Such activities by a body claiming to be an organ of the Church in Russia were necessarily disavowed by the Russian Synod, and the Synod Abroad was declared dissolved.

Dr Spinka's sympathies would appear to be with the diaspora. Those who are not involved should be able to understand, nevertheless, if they read this book, how a Russian hierarch would be moved to deny that his Church is being persecuted when his brother bishops labor in the salt mines. If he were to martyr himself, the Church might be even worse off. It is not easy to judge between such confessors as the Metropolitan Peter who chose death in prison to any compromise, and those who saved their lives and devoted them to holding the tattered remnants together.

The notable development of Sergei's reign was the legal reestablishment of the Church's administration, giving it control recognized by law over diocesan and parochial units. The cost was the famous Declaration of 1927 whereby Sergei recognized the de facto government and called upon the faithful to give it their support as such, declaring that Tikhon would have done the same had he lived long enough. More serious, he exonerated the government of any persecution of the Church. 'Its "distrust of all church functionaries" was "just." Henceforth the Church has officially and persistently upheld the fiction that there has never been such a thing as religious persecution and all mention of it has disappeared from its official publications, even from such as bear the imprint of the patriarchate itself.' (p 69)

In the reign of the present Patriarch Alexei, Dr Spinka sees an attempt to extend the hegemony of the Russian Church over the Churches of the east, by a concerted effort of an ambitious prelate and a state ready to use him – and such a program – for its political ends. The collaborationist policy and its expressions from the patriarch and others can only distress an outsider. No longer is the hierarchy passively silent to the government's sins. It is now deleriously, disgustingly laudatory of the dictator himself. In this new role, a place second only to that of the patriarch was played by the Met Nicholai Krutitsky who appropriately became suffragan Bishop of Moscow, second to the patriarch, and director of the Church's foreign relations. Restoration of publication rights in the forties provided the government with a new channel of propaganda in the patriarchate's *Journal*, which was allowed to do little to extend the faith within the country, but enabled to carry

the 'peace offensive' to those enslaved by religious superstitions in other countries. All of this, of course, was under the ever-watchful eye of the government which had formed a department of Orthodox affairs in 1945, reminiscent of the tzarist ober-procurator. Thus, despite protests of separation, the state used the Church once again for its own purposes, just as it had during the monarchy, according to Dr Spinka. Americans will remember the efforts made in the forties to suppress criticism of Soviet policies by Russians in this country.

Abroad, ecclesiastical influence was implemented by financial assistance to the needy patriarchates of the east and by canonical good offices in other cases. The constitution of such independent but sympathetic churches as those in Poland and Czechoslovakia is seen to be part of this plan for Muscovite hegemony over all Orthodoxy, a realization of the 'Moscow-the-third-Rome dream.

This is an interesting book for anyone interested in the complex affairs of the Russian Church either at home or abroad, though it has been criticized for errors in detail, e g, the Patriarch Justinian of Rumania is said to have been a former member of another party, not the Communist, as the book asserts (p 134).

QUESTION BOX

When Jesus commanded men to pray in secret and not in the synagogue, why do you make so much pomp and circumstance about it? This does not seem to be in keeping with the words of Matthew 6:6 and elsewhere.

We can seldom understand what a statement means without reference to its context and the circumstances in which it was made. Notice that the chapter you mention begins with a warning against hypocritical alms-giving, of which this reference to prayer is really a continuation. The real issue is not public prayer as such, but ostentatious public prayer and alms-giving. There is probably no Christian anywhere who does not believe in private prayer, and it has always been universally practiced by Christians. But, also following our Lord's example and his express commands, Christians from the earliest days have always met in public to perform the official public homage of the redeemed community. Our Lord did pray in secret, but he also went up into the Temple to pray. He insisted upon sincerity, to be sure, and upon each individual's personal responsibility to God (which Protestants stress). But at the same time, he accepted the communal character of Jewish worship without demur, followed its customs (as did the first Christians) spoke of the Church as an operating mechanism of the New Dispensation which was to forgive sins, memorialize his presence eternally in the breaking of bread, unite believers with him through baptism: all of which attest to the corporate character of the new life of grace. Even the passage 'Where two or three are gathered together...' confirms this. That is to say, 'two or three are not too few...' Of course the early history of the Church agrees. The universal norm is the orderly prayer of the worshipping body, met to follow our Lord's command. Even the hermits took the sacraments with them into their solitude, and met for the liturgy. A life in which one leaves society to seek God is rather different from a life which is normally gregarious, spent with others, but from which God alone is excluded.

NOTES

CHINA

The Church in China has become independent of Moscow with the consecration, last June, of the Archimandrite Basil Shou-An as Bishop of Peking at the Church of the Transfiguration in Moscow by Met Nicholai Krutitsky assisted by the former Abp of Peking Victor and Abp Macarius of Mozhaisk.

The Church numbered about 200,000 prior to the last war, but has been decimated by the communists who have driven out all foreigners impartially. As most Orthodox were Russians, the Church is now said to number only 30,000 or 40,000 of whom about 15,000 are natives.

In his address to the new bishop, the Met Nicholai said in part 'Now the Orthodox Church in China is transformed into the Chinese Autonomous Church. In your interior life you will be independent. Love as son, our dear brother, the Russian Orthodox Church, your mother, and remember that we Russian bishops remain your loving brethren, always ready to assist you in deed and in counsel.'

The Church has two dioceses, the primatial see of Peking, and the suffragan see of Shanghai, whose bishop is Simeon Du.

Bp Basil was born in 1888, educated at the Peking seminary, ordained deacon in 1915 and priest in 1948. He has served as Dean of the Peking cathedral since 1950. Though he declined election to the see of Tien-tsin by the Russian Synod in 1951, he was apparently moved by the parlous times to accept his present post.

KOREA

There are now three theological students preparing to work in Korea, two at Athens and another, Dr Athanasius Eul Joon Yoo, who is a physician, at Holy Cross Seminary in Brookline. Thus it seems as if Fr Boris Noon, who has carried on so valiantly as the country's only Orthodox priest, will soon have the help he deserves. The state of Orthodoxy in the communist north is unknown.

JAPAN

There are about 40,000 faithful in Japan including some 5000 who are not natives. The Church is administered by Bp Ireney (Bokish) of the Russo-American Metropolitinate, originally from the Polish Church, and more recently from the United States, whence he went to Tokyo to succeed Bp Benjamin (Basaluiga), now of Pittsburgh. A second bishop, Nicholas Ono, was subject to Moscow but has transferred to the American jurisdiction, and is now in retirement.

The diocese numbers 32 priests, five deacons, 21 catechists, 65 churches, 64 chapels, a theological seminary with a 12,000-volume library, a school for adult laity and a Sunday School for each parish.

RUMANIA

The late President of Rumania, Petru Groza, was buried in December with the rites of the Church and prayers by Lutherans, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Jews and Moslems. He is apparently one of the few government officials in a communist state who could remain outside the Party and publicly profess his faith. The Church has fared best in Rumania of any Iron Curtain country, and reciprocates by endorsing the Soviet 'peace'

offensive and similar ideological efforts. The patriarch, the chief rabbi, the Lutheran bishop, and the leading Unitarian have seats in parliament.

Bp Theofil (Herineau) of Roman and Husi has been translated to Vad, Feleac, and Cluj. The Bucharest radio has announced that clergy jailed on charges of anti-government activity would be given a New Year's amnesty.

GREECE

The Holy Synod of Athens has instructed priests to use only Christian names in baptism, and to abandon such classical favorites as Homer, Plato, Socrates, Ulysses...

The University of Athens faculty of theology has addressed a request to the pope to refrain from appointing a uniat exarch to succeed the late Msgr George Calavassy in the interests of better relations between the Orthodox and Roman Churches!

Six new bishops have been consecrated, bringing the episcopate to its full quota of 66 members. They are Constantine Poulos, Met of Didymoteichon, Gabriel Kalokairinos, Bp of Thera, Chrysostom Zervas, Bp of Karystos, Titos Matheakis, Bp of Paramythea, Chrysostom Themelis, Auxiliary of Athens, Chrysostom Venetopoulos, Titular of Kernitea.

We regret to learn of the passing of The Met Demetrius of Ionnina who passed to the Church Triumphant at the age of 77.

YUGOSLAVIA

Relations between the patriarchate and its Macedonian dioceses seem to be improving and four candidates have been ordained – the first since the war. The three vacant sees have not been filled... Parish councils have been dissolved by the patriarch, invoking the spirited protests of the government-sponsored priests' association.

A professor of the Belgrade theological school, Dr Dragoslav Stranjakovic, has been charged with 'propaganda' inimical to the state. His arrest was concealed for a time. It is supposed that exposes of the regime emanating from Switzerland were of his authorship.

The Church has asked that its aid from the state be increased. Some assistance to various religious bodies is said to be given by the government, though any received by Orthodox would undoubtedly go to the sponsored 'priest's associations'.

RUSSIA

Reports continue to tell of never-ending translations of bishops. Bp Hilarion (Kochergin) of Mukachevo and Bp Barlaam (Bonsevitch) of Khmelnitis have exchanged sees, Bp Benjamin (Novitzky) has been assigned to Omsk, Bp Alexis (Dekhtorov) to Vilna, Bp Sergius (Golubtsov) to Novgorod, Bp Alexis of Perm becomes assistant to the Met of Leningrad, Bp Donat of Biisk to Sverdlovsk, which diocese has been divided with Abp John of Alma-Ata taking the new diocese of Chelyabinsk. Abp Alexis of Kalinin succeeds him at Alma-Ata, which diocese is also divided with the new diocese of Petropavlovsk placed under Bp Joseph (Chernov).

Bp Arsenius of Kostroma has retired and been succeeded by Bp Sergius of Novorossiisk. Abp Tobias has died at Perm, where he had recently been moved from Sverdlovsk. Also passed to higher labors: Abp Benjamin of Kizov, and Abp Anthony (Pelvetsky) of Stanislavov, originally a Galician uniat who labored for the return of the uniats after

the last war, and was consecrated to Stanislavov in 1946. His protege, The Archim Gregory Zakalyak, was consecrated Bishop of Fragobuitch in Galicia, in September, 1956.

The Riga Archdiocese now has 60 parishes, and services are increasingly said in the vernacular.

The theological academy at Kiev, long closed, is to be reopened.

According to Religious News Service the anti-religion campaign is being intensified.

FINLAND

An interesting account of the Finnish Church appears in the *Eastern Churches News-Letter* for December. It appears that this body, which once numbered about 10% of the population of the country has now shrunk to about 2% due to the losses of Orthodox-populated territories to Russia. Yet it is still the second established church by law and the archbishop, like that of the Lutheran Church, is appointed by the president.

There are now about 80,000 members in two dioceses – Karelia, of which the see city is Kupio, and Helsinki. Abp Herman makes his seat temporarily at Kupio. Twenty-five parishes are administered by some 40 priests. Many of the parishes do not have adequate buildings, though new churches are being built. The Church remains faithful to Constantinople despite overtures from Moscow.

ENGLAND

The Moscow Patriarchate now has its own bishop in Great Britain. The Archimandrite Anthony Bloom, rector of the London church was consecrated on October 19 by Abp Nicholas of Paris, Exarch of the Patriarchate in Western Europe, and Bp James of Apameia.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH HERE

The Church has acquired a 15 acre estate near Syosset, Long Island, for general use.

On November 17th the new press of St Tikhon's Seminary was blessed. The plant is housed in its own building and is equipped with linotype and presses to handle publications in English, Russian and Church Slavonic. The manager is Nicholas Stream.

On November 6th the second American-born Russian Orthodox to take the veil in a century and a half was professed at St Tikhon's: Seraphim Bobich (nee Michael Bobich) of the class of 1957.

The Tolstoy Farm at Valley Cottage, New York, has a new church, dedicated to St Sergius. It was consecrated on November 3 by Bp Dimitri of Philadelphia, is in the old Novgorod style with a single blue dome, framed by wide lawns in a pastoral setting. The farm is a retreat for the aged, founded by Miss Alexandra Tolstoy, youngest daughter of the writer.. St Vladimir's Seminary is planning to move from its temporary quarters at 121st Street, New York, to a new home in Englewood, N J. Long embarrassed for want of adequate facilities, the school has carried on with the assistance of Union (Protestant) Seminary, but has been forced to turn away students from classes and visitors from its chapel services for want of space.

MISCELLANY

The Seventeenth International Congress of the Old Catholic Churches meeting in Rheinfelden, Switzerland, has planned intensified evangelistic work among non-Christians and the religiously indifferent. The Abp of Utrecht in his address defined

the Old Catholic Churches as 'a living witness to God in Jesus Christ in accordance with the Catholic faith as exemplified in the undivided Church of the early Christian centuries, and particularly in unity with Anglicanism and Eastern Orthodoxy'. The Old Catholics have been losing ground pitifully in recent years, and do not seem to have attracted the sentiment which once flourished in Europe (Gallicanism, Febronianism) for a neo-primitive catholic polity and consciousness.

Meeting at Montreal in November, the Council of Eastern Orthodox Youth Leaders, representing 42,000 members in seven churches, formulated plans for closer cooperation with Syndesmos, with Orthodox college fellowships, for sponsorship of local pan-Orthodox clubs, for urging recognition of Byzantine Easter by calendar manufacturers, for assistance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Metropolitan Anthony Bashir took occasion once again to emphasize the need for united effort. Officers elected were: Andrew Vance of GOYA as Chairman; Bohdan Hyrshchyshn of UOL, Vice-Chairman; Margaret Hopkosky of FROC, Secretary; Andrew Homanich of ACRY, Treasurer.

The Cleveland Eastern Orthodox Welfare Council goes on from strength to strength. Its fine publication, *Orthodox Spirit*, has grown to twelve pages under the energetic guidance of Prof Daniel Ressetar, Editor, and his fine staff of colleagues. The Welfare Council represents sixteen parishes of all jurisdictions in the Cleveland area. Since 1955 its budget has more than doubled, and it now counts an old age home and a credit union among its activities.

An ancient Christian Church, said to be over 1800 years old, has been discovered at Pomoriye, Bulgaria, on the Black Sea. It is said to contain well preserved frescoes.

In Israel the Antiquities Department has announced discovery of the oldest Christian Church ever found in the country, at the coastal town of Shavei Zion. It appears to date from the time of Constantine, is a basilica measuring 80 X 50 feet and its mosaic floors are believed to be older than any found at Nazareth or Jerusalem.

The Archimandrite Nicodemus has succeeded the Archimandrite Pimen as head of the Russian mission in Israel, and was installed at Trinity Cathedral, Jerusalem, in November. Local Russian and Arabic clergy attended, but the Jordan government would not permit Russian clergy to leave that country to be present, though it later allowed 1322 Christian Arabs to enter Bethlehem to celebrate Christmas (Jan 7).

Through the generosity of Serge Semenenko, Senior Vice-President of the First National Bank of Boston, the Russian Synod in Exile will be housed in a mansion on Park Avenue at 93rd Street in New York. This will make the Synod a neighbor of the Greek Archdiocesan Chancery at East 79th Street.

Seventeen states now recognize the original Christian Church as a 'major faith': California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas. Six others recognize that it exists: Indiana, Louisiana, New Hampshire, New York, West Virginia, Wisconsin.